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ABSTRACT

The history of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) is examined. ACA is the parent organization of the American Association of University Women and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. ACA played a crucial bridging role in the history of higher education for women by simultaneously supporting conventional and radical ideas about "woman's nature." The organization was able to contain these seeming contradictions due to a deeply rooted commitment to Progressivism. Progressives shared a set of beliefs about morality, education, and government peculiar to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This combination of ideas encouraged and crucially shaped the work of the ACA. The demise of the ACA coincided with the serious erosion of the effectiveness of Progressive ideas. Members of the Association contributed through both their activities and their scholarship to a reassessment of the nature and proper social role of women, a reassessment which, though it finally split the ACA, could not have proceeded at all without the original combination of Progressive concerns. (Author/SW)

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ABSTRACT: THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNAE, 1880-1912:
PROGRESSIVISM, COLLEGE WOMEN AND THE PROBLEM OF 'WOMAN'S NATURE'"

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The paper examines the history of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), the parent organization of the American Association of University Women and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. I argue that the ACA played a crucial bridging role in the history of higher education for women by simultaneously supporting conventional and radical ideas about "woman's nature." The organization was able to contain these seeming contradictions thanks to a deeply rooted commitment to Progressivism. Progressives shared a set of beliefs about morality, education and government peculiar to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This combination of ideas encouraged and crucially shaped the work of the ACA. The demise of the ACA coincided with the serious erosion of the effectiveness of Progressive ideas. Members of the Association contributed through both their activities and their scholarship to a reassessment of the nature and proper social role of women, a reassessment which, though it finally split the ACA, could not have proceeded at all without the original combination of Progressive concerns.

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THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNAE, 1882--1912: PROGRESSIVISM,
COLLEGE WOMEN AND THE PROBLEM OF 'WOMAN'S NATURE'

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In its birth, flourishing and demise, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) encompassed the whole of what historians have labelled the "Progressive period" of American history. For all the seeming confidence of the label, "Progressivism" remains little more than a catch-all term for a complex period which resists simple characterization. The history of the ACA, however, offers a vision of the substance behind the term. The Association was committed to certain formal advancements in higher education for women. That goal ultimately entangled the ACA in a heated contemporary debate concerning the "essential nature of Woman." The struggle of the ACA to come to grips with the debate over woman's nature while simultaneously fulfilling its very practical mission in education reveals the peculiar hybrid of politics, morality, expertise and social reform at the core of Progressive ideology. Progressive thought held in suspension a complex aggregate of moral and technical concerns, forming seemingly contradictory viewpoints and priorities into viable programs and meaningful lives. The ACA, because its practical, technical work was so profoundly and visibly shaped by the morally charged debates surrounding "woman's essential nature," provides a case study not only of the development of women's education but also of the meaning and experience of Progressivism as a whole.

Historians' conventional chronology of the Progressive period, roughly from 1900 to 1920, must be expanded somewhat in order to appreciate the origins and importance of the Progressive moral and technical agenda. Progressives amalgamated their very decided visions of what was good and right with a nearly unshakeable faith in the potency of information and expertise to solve social problems. Progressivism, viewed this way, links the ideology and experience of mid-19th-century reform movements with the increasingly technocratic orientation of social legislation since the First World War.

For purposes of this study, then, the Progressive period begins in approximately 1880 and continues through the First World War. The United States in these years was transformed into a full scale industrial economy and rocked by the continuous arrival of immigrants from all over Europe and the Far East. The fabled American frontier officially "closed" in 1890 and the population deserted farms for the growing cities in unprecedented numbers. By 1920, for the first time in our history, more Americans live in cities than lived on farmsteads -- a trend which was never to be reversed. The automobile appeared on the roads, such roads as there were; moving pictures appeared in drug stores and music halls. The cast iron cookstove, the electric vacuum cleaner and the washing machine, along with running water and electricity, revolutionized home life and the American standard of living, especially for city dwellers. And just at the turn of the century came the first foray into foreign empire-building in the Philippine Islands.

These events alone would defy simple descriptive labelling, but the historical task is complicated by the need also to describe the response of American citizens to this onrush of multi-faceted change. Some Americans organized themselves around the industrial cooperativism of early labor

unions in the 1880's; others around the image of the independent yeoman farmer in the 1890's. More Americans voted Socialist in 1912 than ever before or since. More Americans, both North and South, joined the Ku Klux Klan in this period than at any time since the post-Civil War years.¹

And so it went -- across the political spectrum, in the social, economic, cultural and technological lives of Americans, each change precipitated another; each response begot a new innovation. Singly or in groups, Americans responded, trying to shape the emerging world as best they could and finally being themselves as much clay as potter.

In what sense any of these activities was "Progressive" is a matter of intense debate. Particular groups of Progressives, like the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, can be scrutinized, however, less to see whether they "fit" some necessarily partial definition of Progressive than to see how the substance of their activities and concerns contributes to actually formulating a working vision of the United States in these years.

The Association of Collegiate Alumnae began in 1882 in Boston, Massachusetts as a "national, unprofessional organization of American college women, having for its aim purely educational work."² Though its founding purpose was unprofessional, the organizers of the Association included women with explicit professional commitments in education. Marion Talbot, perhaps the primary force in convening the group, was freshly graduated from Boston University and on her way to becoming Assistant Dean (later Dean) of women at the new University of Chicago. M. Carey Thomas and Alice Freeman Palmer, two other founding inspirations, finished their careers as president of Bryn Mawr and Wellesley Colleges, respectively.

Their professional ambitions influenced the way the founders interpreted their goal of pursuing "purely educational work." The newly created Association adopted as its first major challenge the upgrading and standardization of college and graduate education for women. Another goal, less formal though no less urgent, was to provide a network of support for each other and a sense of membership in a coherent group. College women in the 1880's were, after all, a profound social anomaly -- threatening to and threatened by elements of society all around them.

New attempts to curtail women's ambitions for education and professional careers abounded in the 1880's, though the rationales offered for restricting the access of women to advanced schooling were nothing new at all. The most influential critic of women's education, Boston physician Dr. Edward Clarke, first published his treatise on the subject in 1873. His tract, entitled Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls, asserted that too much mental labor during the sensitive years of adolescence and young adulthood would divert strength from the developing reproductive organs of young women, stunting growth and causing not only sterility but also a range of physical, emotional and psychological distresses associated with the "unnatural" state of childlessness.³

Clarke's study provoked a range of responses. Educational journals hosted debates on his conclusions; women's colleges began collecting information on the health and fertility of their graduates. Advocates of higher education for women had perforce to respond to the implicit argument of Clarke's work, namely that homelife and motherhood were both natural and necessary to female physical well-being. As a result the quest for advanced education became a battle to define the "natural" and "unnatural" role of women.⁴

Having accepted the terms of debate set out by Clarke and others, late 19th-century college women could not remain neutral on the question of woman's "essential nature." Although each individual woman no doubt came to her own terms with her "nature," taken as a whole college women made one of two responses. The first involved demonstrating that women were just as capable as men of advanced study and professional work. The second, in seeming contradiction, allowed women to invoke their special moral fitness and maternal vocation to claim rights to certain professions, notably teaching and social work.

Not surprisingly, women pursuing graduate study elaborated most fully the first response. Helen Thompson, later Woolley, received one of the earliest ACA fellowships and used her doctoral research to test the capacities of males and females for intellectual work. Under guidance from John Dewey at the University of Chicago, Thompson designed and applied new laboratory methods of experimental control and measurement to a comparative study of male and female intelligence and emotionality. She concluded that the variation among individuals of the same sex was considerably more dramatic than variation between the sexes, and that taken as two groups the abilities of the two sexes overlapped substantially. Sex alone, therefore, was a poor indicator of intellectual ability. Another early female scholar and ACA member, Leta Stetter Hollingworth, used her graduate training in experimental psychology at Columbia to show that the menstrual cycle did not cause periodic debilitation in women.⁵

Members of the ACA could as easily be found among women who took the contrary position in response to Clarke and emphasized the advantages of a uniquely female nature. Some, notably advocates of woman's suffrage,

supported their women's rights campaign with the claim that a distinctively female moral influence would significantly improve the working of government. Other concerned themselves with protecting young women and mothers (mostly white) from the rigors of full-time employment. The small but growing cohort of scholars who maintained that biological sex was irrelevant to character and capability increasingly was isolated from those who relied on the rhetoric of female uniqueness to achieve political ends. This divergence can be counted as one of the cardinal ironies of this phase of the women's movement -- that those whose methods and ideas were on the cutting edge of the intellectual 'woman question' became a liability to those who, also with 'feminist' purposes, were in the forefront of political reform.

One of the ACA's most important accomplishments was hosting both sides of this crucial debate and preventing an irremediable split in the then fledgling women's movement. With the erosion of the composite Progressive ideology in the second decade of the twentieth century the hybrid awareness needed to sustain the merger disappeared and the organization ultimately split into a professional and an anti-professional group. It left, nonetheless, a substantial legacy of accomplishment.

Beginning in 1883, the Association created a more or less formal accreditation process for women's higher education, concentrating on the twin practical objectives of upgrading the quality of women's education and providing job opportunities for women with their hard-won advanced degrees. The work proceeded simultaneously on three fronts: the selection of Association members, the provision of graduate fellowships, and the development of a collegial network of college women.

The development of women's education, beginning in the 1840's, had left the field strewn with institutions variously dubbed "academy," "seminary," and "college." All three types of institutions provided some mix of secondary schooling, post-secondary academic rigor, and training in the arts appropriate to a "finishing" school. The ACA set out to identify and welcome as members those institutions which provided a solid, post-secondary academic education to women.⁶

The ACA membership selection process gave the Association substantial leverage for improving the quality of women's education. Membership was contingent on meeting ACA standards; institutions, not individuals, were granted membership. Institutions did not apply directly to the ACA; they were selected by the ACA membership committee on the basis of ACA-initiated studies. Once a college or university was accepted as a "corporate member," any woman with a degree in "arts, science or literature" from that school could become a dues-paying member of the Association.⁷ Membership became increasingly meaningful as the ACA grew, spread geographically, and developed its fellowship program.

Marion Talbot summarized the membership requirements for the record in 1912 as follows:

1. Member institutions had to give "reasonable recognition" to women in the faculty and student body and make "proper provision" for the intellectual and social needs of women. "Reasonable recognition" meant that all courses had to be open to women, and at least one woman above the rank of instructor had to be on the faculty. "Proper provision" meant providing on-campus residences and access to college clubs and extracurricular activities. [thereby allowing women full access to non-formal educational opportunities as well as to classes];
2. Women's colleges had to have at least one woman on the board of trustees; co-ed schools had to have a dean of women who was also a faculty member above the rank of instructor;

3. Female faculty had to be paid on the same scale as male faculty; moreover, the highest paid woman was not to be paid less than the lowest paid man.⁸

Alumnae or students who wished to join the Association put pressure on administrators and faculty to meet these requirements. In addition, universities anxious to fill their classes in a time of declining male enrollment had an inducement to adjust their practices to the ACA standards.⁹

The second component of the Association's plan to improve women's education, running alongside the process of accreditation, was the ACA fellowship program. The Association leaders believed, not unjustly, that full equality for women in academe would be achieved only if women had access to doctoral degrees at all American universities. By 1890 the ACA was offering two of the few fellowships available to women for advanced study. One \$500 stipend was awarded annually to a woman for study abroad; another \$250 stipend went to a woman pursuing advanced study at a domestic school.

The pursuit of advanced study abroad was a pressure tactic as well as a practical choice for early college graduates. Most Ivy League and other elite American schools (as well as those striving for a place in the elite category) refused to confer the doctorate on women, a stance which was justified officially by referring to the refusal of prestigious English and German universities to award women the Ph.D.¹⁰ While a few women were allowed to pursue the course of study designed for the Ph.D at Johns Hopkins, Harvard and certain German schools, they were not awarded the degree upon completion of their work. Only in Swiss universities and at some new and/or less elite American schools, like the University of Chicago and Syracuse University, could women count on receiving the degree they had earned.¹¹

One ACA fellow, Ida Hyde, struggled in the 1890's to wring a degree from the reluctant university at Göttingen in Germany. Denied permission to attend classes, Hyde pieced together material herself to prepare for examinations. Her professor, physiologist Willy Kuhne, first laughed at her ambitions, then,

required six faculty meetings before he would agree to serve on her committee . . . repeatedly postponed her examination and then prolonged it an extra hour and finally . . . refused to grant her the degree *summa cum laude*.¹²

Her experience, though extreme, illustrates the range of obstacles placed in the path of female scholars, as well as the importance of having sufficient financial support to outlast the delaying tactics.

Since prestigious American universities still modelled themselves upon the German university system, the leaders of the ACA decided to use their fellowship program to pressure German schools to grant doctorates to their women students. This, they hoped (correctly, as it turned out), would induce American schools to do the same.¹³

The third element of the ACA's push for more excellent education for women was less formal than either the membership rules or the fellowship policy. ACA members acted as an informal job network for one another. For example, founding member Alice Freeman Palmer, tapped by William R. Harper in 1892 to be dean of women at the University of Chicago, chose her ACA colleague Marion Talbot as her assistant. When Palmer relinquished the job in 1895, Talbot became dean in her own right. Katharine Morris Shipley, a graduate of Bryn Mawr College in 1890, used her connections at Bryn Mawr and a leadership position in the local ACA branch to find and employ college graduates as teachers in the new "Misses Shipley's School" which she ran with

her sister. The Baldwin School, in close proximity to Bryn Mawr College like the Shipley School, also was staffed by college graduates and run by a Bryn Mawr alumna who was active in the local ACA branch. In the cases of Baldwin, Shipley and other women's college graduates, membership in the Association supplemented and extended their college-based range of acquaintances. For Marion Talbot and others like her not connected to women's colleges, the ACA provided a crucial alternative network of access to jobs in academe, substituting for the limited access female scholars had to job networks run by and for their male colleagues.

Full-time scholars and professional administrators, though dominant in the development of national Association policies, were a minority among ACA members and were concentrated overwhelmingly in positions of national leadership. The picture of ACA work can be rounded out by attending to the activities of branches and of individual members. Local branch activity covered an enormous range of social, professional and personal engagements, a variety which is an important complement to the more explicitly academic concerns of the ACA at the national level.

The overall picture of branch work indicates that branch members held much more readily to views of a unique female nature than their scholarly sisters and national leaders. The Kansas City branch, for example, made its views explicit in announcing support for a mother's pension law which stipulated "a pension of \$10 a month to the widowed mother of a child under 14 and \$5 a month for each young child, provided the mother is deserving and stays at home with her children."¹⁴

The Washington State branches reported on their ongoing lobbying efforts for child labor laws and protective legislation for women. The Montana branch's 1912 annual report detailed its institutional cooperation

with the National Child Labor League, as did the report of the Springfield, Illinois branch. The branch in Pittsburgh discussed changes in public school policy. In Virginia and North Carolina, the ACA branches cooperated with the state Agricultural Extension Services in providing schools for young people -- farming education for boys, homemaking skills for girls.¹⁵ These examples reflect classically "Progressive" concerns with schooling, labor, morality and public order, as well as a typically "Progressive" tendency to rely on legislation to accomplish the necessary reforms. More strikingly, these particular initiatives built their constituencies around either special concerns for children or the special needs of women for protection in both domestic life and wage earning. They therefore indicate the specific ways ACA branches blended views of a unique female nature with a technical focus on public institutions and procedures.

Individual members also pursued a wide variety of causes and activities. A few stories from the lives of Pennsylvania ACA members are sufficient to suggest the range of endeavor. Alice Anthony, an early member and graduate of Bryn Mawr College ('89), made a career of settlement house work. She lived in the Rivington Street Settlement in New York City in 1891 for a brief apprenticeship, then returned to Philadelphia to stay for five years at St. Peter's Settlement. While in Philadelphia, she joined the Woman's Union in Interests of Labor and the Fairmount Park Art Association. She went back to New York for a few years in the late 1890's to another settlement called Calvary House. The year 1902 found her back at her alma mater as a house warden.

A classmate of Alice Anthony's, Anna Rhoads, pursued graduate work at Bryn Mawr and in Leipzig, Germany, receiving an M.A. in Biblical Literature

(from Bryn Mawr) in 1894. She married in 1897, served as president of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society for the Philadelphia Friends, then moved with her family to California in 1904. Helen Clements, who married several months after college graduation in 1892, spent several years as a Philadelphia club woman and member of the Yeadon (PA) school board before returning to school for graduate work in economics at the University of Pennsylvania in 1903.

One member made a full career for herself as an insurance auditor in Philadelphia. Another worked as a medical artist, an "Artist in Pathology." Still others taught secondary school for many years in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Harrisburg. Many Philadelphia branch ACA members also joined the Civic Club of Philadelphia or the New Century Club. At least two, Mary Atkinson Watson and Caroline Paxson Stine, met one another regularly at meetings of the Bucks County Historical Society.¹⁶

All these women were members of the Philadelphia or Pittsburgh branches of the ACA. Although these few examples cannot be considered fully illustrative either of the Pennsylvania membership or of the ACA as a whole, the list hints at the profusion of activities which engaged college women and further suggests the overlapping of college-based and Association-based networks.

What is to be made of all this activity? How do ideas about the essential nature of woman fit into this picture? What concrete representations of Progressivism emerge? ACA members involved themselves in social work, settlement houses, political lobbying, philosophical speculation, and academic research. They were professionals whose research aimed at leveling the pseudo-science of female inferiority. They were dedicated to sending

women abroad for Ph.D's, forcing doctorates out of reluctant American universities, and insisting on equal pay for equal work.

ACA members were, with equal enthusiasm, supporters of pensions for "deserving" mothers who did not work outside their homes, suffragists who insisted on the splendid moral superiority of women and the corresponding utility of giving women the vote. They sought protective legislation that cost women jobs in factories. They were missionaries, mothers, temperance advocates, and insurance adjustors.

Beneath this variety of work raged the debate over woman's nature, which, rage though it did, did not divide these women officially for over 30 years. What needs to be explained in all this is the understanding of society, education, politics and, most importantly, of women, within which the variety of activities women pursued did not produce a sense of contradiction and irreconcilable difference. That is, a complete understanding of this phenomenon requires an understanding of "Progressivism" and its meaning for college women.

Progressives constructed a vision which closely linked notions of society, education, politics and morality. For Progressives of both sexes, society and social life constituted the locus of problems, education and the development of expertise the method of arriving at solutions, politics and legislation the mode of implementing solutions, and moral seriousness the justification for imposing their solutions on the members of society whom they construed as problematic.

One example from the life of Ellen Swallow Richards, a founding member of the ACA, illustrates at once the complexity of the Progressive vision and

its utility to both the professionals and non-professionals in the Association. Richards, a chemist trained in the 1870's at Vassar College and MIT, used her expertise in chemistry as the basis of the "science of home management," pioneering the academic discipline of home economics. She organized and supervised the ACA's Committee on Euthenics (Home Economics) until her death in 1912. Her last report, published with the proceedings of the annual meeting, recalled that home economics had begun in a mode typical of the new social sciences, that is, with a survey attempting to "ascertain the cost of a child from birth through the high school for a family having an income of \$3,000."¹⁷

Confronted with minimal available information and astonished by homemakers' inability to reckon their work in economic terms, Richards concluded that women needed, like "men in business," to learn to keep records of their household budgets to assist them in planning and monitoring expenses. This quite traditional vision of the purpose of educating women was to be encouraged, in Richards' view, by creating a fellowship program.

In view of the great importance of the subject of cost of living it is suggested by the chairman of the committee that an investigation be authorized by the Association to be carried out under the direction of a university department of economics; a woman should be selected who would do graduate work in a college, who would apply the principles of economics as accurately to household affairs as to business life.¹⁸

Ellen Swallow Richards, who herself did not "scorn womanly duties, but deem[ed] it as a privilege to clean up and sort of supervise [the chemistry lab at MIT] and sew things," moved unblinkingly from the scientific measurement of the cost of children to the importance of mothers at home to the support of graduate fellowships for women in economics.¹⁹ In so doing, she demonstrated the capacity of the composite ideology of Progressivism

not only to contain seemingly contradictory attitudes toward women's roles but also, and more importantly, to mold these divergences into a coherent educational and social program. The essence of Progressive ideology was precisely its ability to blend and manage moral purpose, program design and science all at once.

The result of the Progressive understanding of society and reform, as it affected college women, was the blurring of lines between politics, social activism, educational advancement, and moral purpose. In other words, Progressivism undermined the separation of "public" from "private" life. The mixing of public and private endeavor recalled an earlier time when women had shared with men the duties of making a living and shaping their society, before the headlong industrial development, urbanization and cultural change of the post-Civil War period. The segregation of middle-class women into private and men into public life, posed initially as an adaptation to the social stresses of full-scale industrialization, was challenged, beginning in the 1880's, as women, and college women especially, re-entered the public sphere. The Progressive vision, by displacing the notion of "separate spheres" for men and women, reestablished the inextricable nature of "public" and "private" concerns. By doing so, Progressivism offered college women new opportunities to work and to study. Furthermore, the Progressive vision provided an almost inexhaustible reservoir of justifications for new women's work, ranging from a simple assertion of equality to a complete revision of the ideology of female distinctiveness to serve the cause of emancipation. Though many struggles, most notably suffrage, were yet to be won when the

Progressive vision began to disintegrate, Progressive women yet managed to short-circuit the insidious heritage of separation, reestablishing the grounds for women to claim a share in all the wide arenas of human life.

NOTES

¹For extensive discussions of the Progressive period see Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967), and Ellis Hawley, The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), and Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (New York: The Free Press, 1963) among many others. For examples of Progressives own words, see Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: MacMillan, 1910) and Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives (New York: Scribner, 1890), again, only two choices from an extensive literature.

²The Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1912 volume), p. 1.

³Edward Clarke, Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls (Boston: Osgood and Co., 1873), passim; see also for a discussion of Clarke, Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 5-12.

⁴See, for example, Julia Ward Howe, ed. Sex and Education: A Reply to Dr. E. H. Clarke's 'Sex in Education' (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1874), passim, for information collected by women's colleges, see Bryn Mawr Alumnae Journal, beginning 1889.

⁵Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres, pp. 68-72, and 95-98.

⁶Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States (New York: Octagon Books, 1929, reprinted 1966), v.1., pp. 329-457.

⁷The original complement of 17 organizers represented 8 institutions, the Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin, Cornell and Boston Universities, Oberlin, Smith, Vassar and Wellesley Colleges. The ACA added MIT, Wesleyan, Northwestern and Syracuse Universities (1882-3), the University of California (1886), Bryn Mawr College (1890), Barnard College (1899), the Universities of Nebraska and Illinois (1902) and finally, Chicago, Stanford, Western Reserve, Radcliffe, and the Universities of Missouri and Minnesota in 1906. In 1909 the ACA accredited eight graduate programs, at Brown, Clark, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, McGill, Yale and the Universities of Pennsylvania and Toronto. See Journal, 1912, pp. 30-31.

⁸Journal, 1913, p. 28

⁹See Ellen K. Rothman, Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987) pp. 7-8.; By 1912 the annual meeting of the Association decided that the standards had served their intended purpose in establishing improvements in women's education, and that they had begun to act as an unwelcome restriction on the size of the

organization. The assembled meeting therefore determined to make a "certain conservative reorganization" of its rules, and move on to new challenges. See Journal, 1912, pp. 207-208.

¹⁰Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), pp. 33-37. Yale was a notable exception to this general rule in the Ivy League, an exception explained at least in part by the personal campaign of Helen Hadley (Vassar, '83) wife of Arthur Hadley, the dean of Yale's graduate school. Yale, like the other elite schools, granted women graduate admission while explicitly withholding undergraduate admission. Other schools admitted women to degree programs but segregated them into auxiliary units of the university.

¹¹Rossiter, Women Scientists, p. 38.

¹²Ibid., p. 42.

¹³Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁴Journal, 1912, pp. 215-219.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶These biographies are culled from serial issues of the Bryn Mawr College Alumnae Journal, Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The archivist at Bryn Mawr, Teresa Taylor, was exceptionally helpful to me in locating this and much other information.

¹⁷Journal, 1912, p. 219.

¹⁸Journal, 1912, pp. 219-220.

¹⁹Rossiter, Women Scientists, p. 68; see also Journal, 1912, p. 295.